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ON TO 100,000!

State Convention of New York Socialists, Held in Rochester.

TACTICS.

Attitude on the War—Greetings Abroad and to the West and South—Mission of the Political toward the Economic Movement—The Primary Law—Oneness of Politician and Fakir—Party Press—Canais—Mass Meeting.

For Governor:
BENJAMIN HANFORD,
of New York.

For Lieutenant Governor:
LEANDER ARMSTRONG,
of Erie.

For Secretary of State:
PHILIP JACKSON,
of Monroe.

For Attorney-General:
CHARLES H. CORREGAN,
of Onandaga.

For State Comptroller:
MAX FORKER,
of Kings.

For State Treasurer:
JOSEPH SCHMITT,
of Westchester.

For Engineer and Surveyor:
John H. MORRIS,
of Cayuga.

The Socialist Labor Party State convention of New York met in the Common Council Chamber of Rochester on the 27th instant, and did its work expeditiously. It nominated the above ticket, adopted a series of resolutions, hereto attached, on current issues and declaratory of the party's tactical methods, and adjourned at 7 p. m. with three hearty cheers and a tiger for the S. L. P.

The convention was called to order at 10:30 a. m. by State Secretary Hugo Vogt, and went into temporary organization with Lucien Sanial as temporary chairman and Hugo Vogt, temporary secretary. Comrade Sanial took the gavel with a few terse observations, at the conclusion of which a Committee on Credentials was elected, and the convention took a recess of 15 minutes.

At the expiration of this term the convention re-assembled, and the Committee on Credentials reported the following delegates present and entitled to a seat:

From New York: Sanial, Hugo Vogt, Daniel DeLeon, Thomas A. Hickey, Max Forker, H. Simpson, Howard Balkam and Frank Smitt.

From Monroe County: Lippelt and Grady.

From Onandago County: Erasmus Pellenz and Chas. H. Corregan.

From Utica: Frank Gerner.

From Oneida: Kafke.

From Westchester County: Frederick Bennetts.

From Auburn: John H. Morris.

From Batavia: Metzler.

From Buffalo: B. Reinstein and Sharp.

The convention then organized itself permanently with DeLeon as chairman and Vogt, secretary. In taking the chair DeLeon said it was customary with the old parties for the permanent chairman to introduce his functions with a long and set speech; that was unnecessary; that was not a convention of politicians posing on pedestals of words, nor was it a convention of pure and simplers bent on wasting time so as to increase their supplies from their organizations' funds; the convention was called to transact certain business; and he would proceed without further words.

State Secretary Hugo Vogt was given the floor to submit the report of the State Committee. The report (which will be found on the second page of this issue) was listened to attentively and closed amid warm applause from the convention and the visitors in the rear. It was received, adopted and ordered printed in the party press.

The floor was then opened for nominations for a Committee on Resolutions. The following five delegates were unaminously chosen: Sanial, Pellenz, Hickey, Lippelt and Forker. Considering that the resolutions of the convention should precede the nomination of candidates on the State ticket, the convention adjourned to 3 p. m. to afford the Committee on Resolutions time to work.

Promptly at 3 p. m. the convention re-assembled, and the Committee reported through its chairman, Sanial, the following resolutions, which were acted upon seriatim and adopted:

ON THE WAR:

The war is over. Let the American wage working voters pause and consider.

If the cost of much life and treasure an end has been put to the mediæval rule of Spain in the Antilles and the Philippines. For the antiquated form of despotism represented by the Government of that unhappy country the highest form of modern capitalism is to be substituted.

Not only vast fields of wealth, almost unexplored, have been added to the great empire already owned by the American plutocracy, but the so-called political equilibrium of the world is profoundly disturbed by the sudden appearance of the United States as a factor of enormous power in the international capitalistic struggle for colonial markets and universal dominion. In this merciless struggle, large masses of American labor, marshalled by trusts and combines, held at home in helpless subjection to their despoilers, will be arrayed in competition against similar masses of European, African and Asiatic labor; so that increased activity, increased wealth, increased machinery, must more and more result in increased degradation of the wage working class.

Manifestly there is but one way for the wage-workers to economic salvation. United under the banner of Intrenational Socialism, they can at once put an end to capitalism, to its wars, to its competitions, to its despotisms, and institute universal freedom in the Co-operative Commonwealth. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urgently call upon our fellow-workingmen of New York State to at last repudiate the capitalistic parties and to firmly uphold by vote and work the only party of their class, the only party through which they can achieve their emancipation, their only party, the Socialist Labor Party.

GREETINGS ABROAD.

RESOLVED, That we send greetings to our comrades battling in all European countries; and that especially we gather inspiration and instruction from our comrades in France and Spain, whose tactics help to cleanse the fair name of Socialism from the taint of Anarchy;—from our comrades in Germany, whose majestic movement, having early dealt wisely with, by crushing the British capitalist form of trade-unionism, has become a pillar of smoke by day, of fire by night to guide the continental proletariat;—from our comrades in Belgium and Austria, who with valiant manliness wrung from the hands of the ruling class the weapon of civilized political warfare, the ballot, and are now wielding it with class-conscious precision, energy and effectiveness;—from our comrades in Italy, who neither terrorized by the brute force of capitalist interests in the array of Monarchism, nor seduced by the blandishments of capitalist interests in the array of Clericalism, are storming with dauntless valor one of the oldest and double-headed redoubts of oppression;—from our comrades in Holland, who, undeceived by the allurements of "harmony" or the outcry against "splits," grappled with and threw overboard incongruous and undigestible elements within their own ranks, and since are marching forward with unhampered energies; and that we welcome in the ranks of the militant international proletariat the Irish Socialist Republican Party as one of the most cheering signs of the crumbling down of superstitions of all sorts, hand in hand with the constructiveness of sound scientific formations.

GREETINGS TO THE WEST AND SOUTH.

RESOLVED, That we hail with joy the growth of our movement in the West and South, and we extend our congratulations to these distant comrades for the uncompromising attitude and unswerving stand they have taken for International Socialism: be it further

RESOLVED, That we, struggling in the capitalist centers of the East, pledge our support to our Western and Southern comrades in the fight against our common enemy—the capitalist class.

ON THE S. T. & L. A.

RESOLVED, That we applaud, by the light of all that has happened since 1896, the wisdom that guided the national convention of the party of that year in endorsing the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and thereby taking a controlling hand in the economic organization and movement of the working class. Without the rudder of a class-conscious political movement to keep its head straight, the economic or trade union movement is certain not only to remain in a state of perpetual paroxym of disorder, disastrous to the workers immediately concerned, but disastrous also to the political movement of the proletariat.

ON THE NEW PRIMARY LAW.

RESOLVED, That the new primary law is but one of the many steps that have been long taking looking to the ultimate disfranchisement of the working class of this State. We urge the workers to hasten to make intelligent use of their ballots before the capitalist law of the land be so far changed barbarismward as to make physical force the first and only resort for the redress of political and social wrongs.

ONENESS OF POLITICIANS AND FAKIRS.

RESOLVED, That we urge upon the workers the necessity of closely following the conduct of the capitalist politicians and the labor fakirs. By doing so they will discover that, though the latter travel under the flag of Labor, they are in fact in the service of Capital. Conspicuous among such instances, is the now noted fact that Mr. Samuel Gompers only recently passed over the heads of all the workingmen candidates for office in a Senatorial contest in New York, and endorsed one Jacob Cantor, the now aspirant for Congressional honors, who in 1892 applauded Governor Flower for sending the whole militia of the State into Buffalo to help the railroad corporations break the ten-hour law that Flower himself had signed and that the striking switchmen had struck to enforce. We urge upon the workers the necessity of a class-conscious understanding of the fact that pure and simple fakirdom and capitalism are kindred products that must be jointly fought and overthrown.

ON THE PARTY PRESS.

RESOLVED, That, in the language of the party's national convention of 1896, we endorse the attitude, tactics and policy of our national party organs, THE PEOPLE and "VORWAERTS," both with regard to our internal concerns and our outside affairs.

ON THE CANALS.

WHEREAS, The canal question is likely to be used by the two capitalistic parties, equally corrupt, in befooling and side-tracking the working class on election day;

RESOLVED, That it is hereby recommended to the State Committee to issue a leaflet setting forth the false capitalistic and middle class issues which this so-called canal question involves.

The convention re-elected New York the seat of the State Committee and empowered the same to fill vacancies on the ticket; it decided, there being no State election next year, that the next State convention be in 1900, and if the national convention of that year be held in the State of New York, that the State convention be held in the same city, otherwise in Utica. Before adjourning a telegram was received from Section Amsterdam expressing its regret at not being present.

In the evening a parade of the party was held, headed by a large party transparency and a drum and fife corps. The parade marched to Brows square, where a mass meeting was held that lasted until late.

In Ohio.

Declaration of Columbiana Co Socialists.

The Columbian County, O., S. L. P. convention placed its local candidates, the list of whom will be found under the head of "Official," on a scathing indictment of the capitalist system. It is as follows:

We claim that our present competitive capitalistic system of production and distribution is the most perfect embodiment of injustice that could be devised, and that the burdens entailed by it upon the mass of industrial people have become intolerable.

A commercial and social institution which appeals to the selfishness, avarice, jealousy and vanity of man, instead of his better nature, which absorbs the wealth from those who create it and lays it in the lap of speculation and usury, consigns millions of the people to a state of enforced idleness, poverty and degradation in a land overflowing with all the material blessings necessary to insure comfort and prosperity to many times the present population, is nothing short of criminal in its nature, and against such a system, we record our solemn protest, and pledge our united and unceasing opposition until overthrown.

Upon the ruins of this destructive and decaying oligarchy, the people shall erect the Co-operative Commonwealth of America, in which "an injury to one shall be the vital concern of all"; and under whose wise provisions there shall be equality of rights, privileges, opportunities and protection for every man, woman and child throughout the broad domain of this Republic.

To this end, and for the building up of such a commonwealth, the Socialist Labor Party of the U. S. and the world, stands pledged, and we invite the sympathy and active co-operation of all the reformers and good citizens of the nation in its final accomplishment.

Last but not least, we appeal to all the industrial people to bear witness that both reason and experience demonstrate that the only peaceful, legitimate means of accomplishing this great moral purpose, is to unite at the ballot box, and there dispossess plutocracy of those all potent factors, through which alone it now rules and ruins the people, to wit: The legislative, executive and judicial dtpartment of the Government. This once achieved and the battle is won.

Mr. Samuel Gompers is running from the wrath to come. Wherever he turns up, withersover he wends his flat and tired feet, the Spirit of New Trade Unionism rises before him, not like the spectre of an overcomeBanquo, but like the scorching breath of an approaching tornado that is to engulf him and his pack of labor deceivers. To provide against the approaching "hard times" that threaten the fakir everywhere, Mr. Gompers is trying to get asylum by means of a seat (and salary attached) on McKinley's "Industrial Commission."

Mr. Gompers may or not succeed in this; but whether he does or not, he will be in a hole with the wind blowing in upon him from all sides. If he does not succeed, his base of supplies will be so dried up that his present fury at the Socialist "Union-Wreckers" will not be a circumstance to his fury then. If he does succeed, then he will have Tracy and Chance for mortal enemies. Why? Because Tracy and Chance are themselves craning their necks for a seat on that Commission, and they have committed their interests in the keeping of Gompers. Now, then, Gompers, while pretending to be pulling capitalist political wires in the interests of his two chums, is in fact pulling them in his own behalf. Thus, if Gompers does get in out of the outside cold, he will incur the red-hot hatred of his two "clients";—and what can be hotter than the wrath of fakir-duped fakirs?

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, $2.50.

WELL ANSWERED.

Wage-Slaves, Ask Your Masters Whether You May Attend.

The Editor of the "Town Talk", on the New Britain, Conn., "Daily Herald," Criticizes a Socialist Advertising Card and is Categorically Answered With Telling Illustrations Taken from New Britain Itself, and the Country at Large.

Editor Herald:—In the "Town Talk" of last Saturday's issue of your paper you criticise the New Britain Socialists for having been "imprudent" enough to have had on the card advertising their last open-air meeting such a bold expression as "Wage-slaves, ask your masters if you can attend," and you add that this expression could have been intended only as a catch phrase to attract the attention of the reader. We Socialists fail to see why the phrase in question could not serve, and could not have been meant to serve, as a bitter sarcasm.

Our country is no longer the land of the free and the home of the brave it once was, our achievements in Cuba notwithstanding. The timidity of the wage-worker and his fear of losing his job, and consequently of his boss, has become, especially in this city, truly pathetic. I personally know a number of mechanics in this city who are afraid to join our ranks or even attend our in-door public meetings, lest they jeopardize their livelihood. I could also name quite a few Germans, citizens of our glorious town of New Britain, in the county of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, in the free and brave country of the United States, whose fear of their masters, great and little, has gone so far that they begged our literary agent to have mercy and not send them sample copies of our German party organ, the New York "Volkszeitung." It is also for the same reason that Mr. Patrick has to be chairman at mostly all of our public meetings, as not many of our comrades who work in the shops would dare come out in public as Socialists. The same fear of losing one's bread and butter is very often the cause why the Socialist Labor Party has a hard job to fill out its tickets. A dead Socialist is not worth much to the party and to be alive one must fill his stomach. The campaign of 1896, when the workers were driven like cattle in the Republican parades, may also serve as a good illustration of their abject dependence.

You say further in the same item of your "Town Talk" that the Socialist speakers, tough frequently interesting, are too doleful and always overdraw, when picturing the condition of the wage-working class, making the picture look altogether too gloomy. With this we Socialists beg to disagree. In our humble opinion the real condition of the wage-working class, taken as a whole, is much darker than our speakers paint it, especially when this condition is contrasted with the wonderful achievements of the last few years in science and invention. To the well-to-do people and the newspaper men everything looks bright because they become accustomed to look upon the wage-workers as nothing more than beasts of burden, and they seem to have forgotten long ago that these workers are human beings with human wants, feelings, aspirations and a natural longing for joy and happiness, which so far from being satisfied are in most cases rather dulled, deadened and in the end mercilessly crushed out by the eternal struggle for a bare existence.

Before criticising the Socialist speakers the writer of "Town Talk" ought to stop and think that in this city alone there are hundreds of male adult toilers with families to support whose average earnings per day are one dollar and less, and who have to live on the refuse of the butcher market and get along with the poorest of everything else; that many of the town's children do not attend school in the winter because they have nothing but rags to cover their bodies; that in a certain industry of the city the very fingers of the mothers of the coming generation are ceaselessly being incorporated in the manufacture of fancy buckles; that during the sweltering heat of the last few weeks, when our so-called best citizens were recuperating their strength at summer resorts and across the water, there were in this city alone a few hundred moulders and forgers, some of them over 60 years of age, working in an atmosphere and at a temperature that makes work a torture even in the winter; that the majority of the great army of workers, who clothe the nation, pass their lives in misery and poverty in the sweat shops and filthy tenements of our great cities; that the tortures in the sugar refineries and paint factories of Brooklyn could compare with those of hell; that there are in this country hundreds of thousands of miners, who very seldom see the light of day, whose blood, nay whose very lives, are incorporated in the structure of our nation and its greatness and who get in return nothing more than a crust of bread, once in a while seasoned with lead; that our railroads, mills and factories claim year after year, with the regularity of a law of nature, an army of maimed and killed, whose number far exceeds the number of maimed and killed in our war with Spain.

Yes, the Socialist speakers are sometimes harsh and immoderate in their language. The social struggle is not child's play. The highest aspirations, most sacred hopes of the human race, the comfort, the joy, the happiness, the very lives of the generation living and of numberless others yet unborn, are at stake, and one cannot always keep his temper in the midst of the bitter struggle and championing the cause of a great movement, to which one has devoted his life.

M. GOLDSMITH,
Member of Section New Britain, Socialist Labor Party.

Ruffianism.

Our People are Getting a Taste of the Military Spirit Conjured up by the War.

Foretastes of the amenities of militarism have not been a few since our troops have begun to return. This, for instance, is a graphic episode of a street scene in New York last Saturday as related by one of the papers:

He had tested cocktails in a dozen places along Park Row, and was in a cheering condition when he bumped against a big policeman near the bridge. It was about 9 o'clock yesterday morning. The policeman knew the man was a rough rider, and apologized for being in the soldier's path.

"Yer better get—out—the—way!" shouted the soldier. "I can do as—I—damn pl—hic—please in this yere town. D'yer hear?"

"I hear," said the cop; "you're all right."

"Betcher sweet life I am—hic—all—hic—right. This—is war cel'bration day, an' I kin' lick all th' cops in Ne' York, an' they dassent arrest me. There, see? I can push you off'n your feet if I like an' yer can't 'rest me on cel'bration day."

As he was saying this the soldier pushed the policeman up against an iron railing. A crowd gathered and cheered the rough rider. The policeman dodged through the crowd to get away.

"Yer better run," said the soldjer; "yer had ter run, an' I kin do as I darn pl—hic—please. I'm a—goin'—ter stand on my head if—I—wantter; see? No cop kin arrest a rou—rough rider in this town, kin they, boys, hey?"

"No!" shouted the crowd in chorus; "not on your tintype!"

Then the rough rider bowed to the crowd and went on his way in search of another cop.

And this other is an even more striking incident in Everett, Ga., on the 29th instant. The despatch from Brunswick, Ga., tells this story:

Two of the First Ohio Volunteers were shot and seriously wounded at Everett last night. The volunteers were en route to Huntsville, and at Everett about 100 got off to see the place. Section Foreman Hartman, his wife and her sister, Miss Carrie Hedley, were standing by the track watching the soldiers. Some of the soldiers, it is said, made insulting remarks to the party. Hartman and the women retreated to their home. Some of the soldiers followed and continued their remarks. Hartman ordered them away. They began advancing as if to enter the gate. Hartman prepared to shoot. The soldiers took aim and two fired, the bullets striking over Hartman's head.

The two women had by this time got indoors. They secured a shotgun and a rifle, threw open a window and fired. Fully 100 soldiers had run up by this time. One soldier received a buckshot charge in his breast. Another was shot in the hand. The injured men's comrades then began to close in and prepared to charge the house. Officers of the regiment ran up and drove them back with drawn pistols. The wounded men were placed on a flat car and run out of town.

There is war on the Down-Town East Side of New York—the Jewish quarters. And a mighty war it is, and excellent withal.

The Down-Town East Side is populated mainly with Polish-Russian Jewish residents, most of them workers. So large is that population that it has given birth to a number of Jewish dailies: one a Socialist paper, the "Jewish Abendblatt," the others capitalist sheets of all colors. Between the former, on the one hand, and the lumped others, on the other hand, there has been war perpetual. The Jewish capitalist papers have all along tried to play on religious and race prejudices, as a weapon against their Socialist competitor, and they have done so under the cloak of religion especially, thus venally giving all the aid they could to the international exploiter against the ill-starred Jewish proletariat. In the midst of this fight our Socialist Jewish colleague, tore off the mask of its leading opponent by publishing photographic and other evidence of its corrupt practices, and furthermore bringing out the fact that one of its editors, one of the editors of that "orthodox" and sanchinonious capitalist Jewish sheet, was a baptized Jew, etc. Such a blow bereft the capitalist swindle concern of the little sense it had left. It began to rain civil and criminal prosecutions against the "Abendblatt," for the exclusive purpose of bluff, knowing it can't make its case good, and, last not least, its lawyer, in a preliminary hearing in court, declared that the fight was against Socialism, thus seeking Gentile support in its effort to conceal its own rascality.

The incident forms an instructive page in the history of the class struggle in America. It illustrates the oneness of the interest of Jew and Gentile capitalists; also the blasphemous devices both will resort to; and lastly the fact of how American capitalism has one of its main props in the support of immigrant race-apostates.

The fight is going on merrily. The Jewish capitalist sheet will lose its cases, and a pile of money, and it will contribute mightily towards clarifying the atmosphere in the Down-Town East Side.

In the meantime, our Jewish party paper the "Abendblatt" is standing well upon the breach, deserves the applause of the American proletariat, and also their support in all ways possible.

SPECIMEN LOUCKS.

A "Socialist—but," Who has Just Joined the Republican Party.

The Man Who Denounces the Socialist Labor Party as "Unpractical," "Intolerant," "Un-American," as "Too Slow" on Unmeaning and Resounding Reform Planks is a Political Adventurer to be Guarded Against.

Mr. H. L. Loucks, of South Dakota, has, within the short span of a little over six years contributed mightily to illustrate points that are invaluable today, and will increase in value as time passes and the Social Question reaches the solution point.

Mr. Loucks is a "Socialist—but." There are volumes in this "but," how many and of what size Mr. Loucks illustrates.

The Socialist Labor Party "brand of Socialists" was, according to him, neither practical, American, nor tolerant. It went about things in a manner that kept "good Socialists" out of it, and its unpractical tactics kept off the arrival of the glad day of Socialism. He wanted "Socialism in our time," not a million years hence. He wanted "one thing at a time," not more than we could chew. As an application of these several negative and positive principles Mr. Loucks went into the Populist party; strained every nerve to get into office; laid pipes like a corporation of plumbers to land in the United States Senate; failed at every point; as the conflicting elements in the Populist party kicked one another out and the party melted away, he beat about for "a radical plank on which all reformers could unite," and he picked out for that purpose the "Initiative and Referendum"; and, finally, unable to accomplish anything that way, he wrapped himself in his plank, so to speak, and—NOW JOINS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Here we have it all in a nutshell.

"Practical," in opposition to S. L. P. tactics, means to have an eye upon one's own pocket;

"American," in opposition to S. L. P. tactics, means to ignore the ABC of the science of economics and sociology, and to think it quite possible that pears can grow on bramble-bushes;

"Tolerant," in opposition to S. L. P. tactics, means to concede that two multiplied by two may make five, and not pig-headedly and dictatorially insist that they make four, cannot possible make five;

"Socialism in our time," in opposition to the S. L. P. tactics, means "getting there" by the "practical Socialist" upon the backs of the deluded "Socialists"; it means that Socialism is not a social issue but the issue of individuals who may happen to be hard up, and that the moment he ceases to be hard up the Social Question is solved;

Finally, "a radical plank upon which all reformers can unite"—the Initiative and Referendum, for instance—, means something so unmeaning and yet so seeming radical that, under cover of it, one may pose as a Roland of a revolutionist and at the same time "practically" act like a sneak of a self-seeker.

All this was well known before. But recent proofs are more convincing with many, than even better proofs that are less recent. In furnishing this later proofs, Mr. Loucks has rendered invaluable services to the Revolutionary movement in America. He has helped to clarify the body's and the mind's eye of people. They will henceforth be better able to see through the words "Practical," "American," "Tolerant," "Socialism in our time" when hurled at the S. L. P.; and their mind's ear will be better trained than heretofore when they hear those words, so used. They will see and they will hear the POLITICAL ADVENTURER.

We here of America may make ourselves ready to hear a deafening outcry against the tyranny, etc., of the Socialist Labor Party organization of Denmark.

A party member there, elected to a municipal office and also to the national Parliament, was found guilty of misprision of public funds. The capitalist papers and officials of Denmark tried to hush up the matter; not so the Socialist Labor Party organization. It published the facts in full, and without further ado expelled the scamp.

It is likely as not, and more likely than not, that the "reformers" in America will now set up the cry that "the New York Tammany clique has extended its domination across the ocean; has laid its heavy hand on little Denmark; and now interferes with the individual rights of Danish party members." We can almost hear the indignant protest from certain quarters that "it is un-Socialistic to expel a man simply because he happens to think differently from others on how public funds are to be used."

The English translation of Karl Marx' Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. City. Price 25 cents.

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ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1897	55,673

The capitalist class are, gradually but surely, absorbing the middle class WEALTH; while the proletarian class are absorbing the middle class PEOPLE.
Washington State
Campaign Committee, S. L. P.

PEACE UNIVERSAL.

The press has since last Monday been teeming with articles upon the Russian proposal for the universal disarmament that comes from the Tsar. Some of the articles express gladness, others suspicion; all, however, are tangled up in the meshes of the trained ignorance they have cultivated on the source of War and the root of Peace.

Taking up the Tsar's proposition by itself, it simply means that the close of the Nineteenth Century witnesses a spectacle akin to and essentially like that which astonished the middle of the Sixteenth Century, when Charles V. abdicated, and laying down the mightiest sceptre of that time, withdrew into the dark recesses of a Spanish cloister.

Autocracy, even when coincident with peace-breeding times, is insanity-breeding. It breeds a sort of mental paresis, that manifests itself in retiring moroseness. When, however, it coincides with turbulent days; when it falls in with critical periods in the history of the race, then it takes on the appearance of a religious spasm. That is what befell Charles V., and that is what has now befallen Nicholas II.

Charles V. ruled at a time when the chick of capitalism, particularly in Germany and France, was just breaking through the shell. The shell was the Roman Catholic creed, with its feudal beneficent scores of holidays. The oncoming capitalist system was hampered with by a creed observance that impeded it from extracting from the oncoming proletariat all the utility that in it lay; Holidays interrupted production; and the interruption had the force of religious sanction. The material requirements of the class that was fast coming to power shaped its religious views. Catholicism (due to its numerous holidays) was discovered to be "impure"; the Evangelical creed, which, though not directly, yet indirectly made havoc with the objectionable holidays, was discovered to be "pure Christianity." The "Reformation" broke out; the fatuous took it to be a religious, a spiritual uprising against the "Scarlet Harlot" of Rome; the knowing promoted the delusion and strove to free their class from the restrictions that impeded its development: armed rebellion—the rebellion of Capitalism against Feudalism—broke out all sides.

Charles V., the ruler of the day, understood as little as class rulers, crowned and uncrowned alike, understand such manifestations. He knew not the deep seat of the physical resistance that rose up against him as the physical representative of the physical force of the social system that was about to succumb before a new social system. Autocrat, he interpreted rebellion to be against himself; clothed with might, he exercised his power, and smote right and left. But not all the physical power at the command of a mighty autocrat can resist the ground-swell of Social Evolution. The arm of Charles V. grew tired with chastising; he felt that he had been lashing the sea; the spasm of religion seized him at last; and in 1555 he lay down his sword and scepter, put on a monk's cowl, and sought quiet in the stagnant cell of a monastery.

Similarly now with Nicholas II. His autocratic rule falls in with a period in the human race that is the child of the period in which Charles V. battled and was tired out. As then the waves of the on-coming storm of Capitalism were beating against the shores of Feudalism, now the waves of the on-coming storm of Socialism are beating against the shores of Capitalism. Though not strictly within the whirlpool of Capitalist civilization, Russia feels, cannot choose but feel, the effects of the storm. It has long been feeling them. Like a Mrs. Malaprop it has misunderstood the physical signs of the times, and it has sought to mop the ocean dry. But the mop of the Dardanelles, of Herat, of Siberia proved ineffective. Nicholas too now feels tired out, recognizes the hopelessness of the struggle, and, similar causes producing similar results, he too now is seized with the religious spasm, and seeks quiet in peace.

The Russian peace proposal is ineffective. Peace can never be upon the conflict of human interests. But yet, the proposal may be hailed as an encouraging sign of the times. The exhaustion of the tyrant class is a barometer of the increasing vigor of the on-coming conquerors.

Our day, the day of Socialist victory, of Proletarian emancipation draws nigh.

THEY WAKE UP TOO LATE.

Great indignation has broken out among Troop K, First Illinois Volunteer Cavalry. Under the guise of a great national peace jubilee, the department stores of Chicago are trying to boom their business; and in order to lend enchantment to the show, that is to say, attract great crowds to see their advertisements, they propose to have the volunteers march in the contemplated parade. They have already pulled the wires with the War Department, and promise themselves great success.

The volunteers feel indignant; but why should they? Are the department stores responsible for the hitherto blindness of these same volunteers. What was the war for but "to boom up trade." The fumes about "patriotism," the rhapsodies about "freedom," the gimcrack about "aiding the oppressed Cubans"—all such fantasias were but the homage that Vice paid to Virtue, the false pretences behind which Capitalist immorality sought to conceal before the Spirit of the Age the felonious purposes that moved it. The volunteers were taken in—Troop K, First Illinois Volunteer Cavalry included—; they were taken in so completely that they were willing, not to parade merely, but to tear themselves from their home bonds, travel to distant shores, and there shed their blood, even die,—all to boom trade for the idle, parasitic, felonious capitalist class of the land.

When these same volunteers now indignate over a mere parade, it looks as if they were straining at a gnat after having gladly gulped down a camel. They are waking up too late.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

In response to a letter from a member of the Social Democratic Party, whatever that may mean, suggesting harmony, and printed in the Cleveland, O., "Citizen," there is now in the "Citizen" the views of an S. L. P. man on the subject. These views state the case very completely, and show, not experience only, but deep insight. The S. L. P. man says:

"Why did they not come into the party that was already organized for that purpose instead of wasting time, money and a whole lot of energy in attempting to build up an opposition movement? Did they think that a political party could be conjured into existence by waving a magic wand or by pulling it out of the skies?

"A year ago, when they organized, we criticised their colony scheme, and we were denounced as 'intolerants.' Then the split occurred and the colony plan was thrown overboard, and now they are attempting to attract support with an unclear farmers' programme and by appealing to old trade unionism, and they cannot possibly succeed. Experience proves that our party's tactics, to which the Social Democrats object most strenuously, are correct. We have seen the rise and fall of the George movement, the Greenback party, the Union Labor party, the Populist party, and now the Social Democracy. Certainly because of our anti-fusion policy our growth has been necessarily slow, but it has been sure nevertheless, and we know our people.

"We will go on carrying aloft the banner of International Socialism, and for one I am utterly opposed to compromising with any other political organization on earth. Let those who want to institute the Co-operative Commonwealth join the Socialist Labor Party as we did, without asking for concessions and expecting brass band accompaniments, or let them start opposition parties until they become tired.

"You remember the merry time we had when we attempted to 'harmonize' with the so-called socialistic Populists of this town?" asked a prominent worker. "Happy day! Will we ever forget it! And then, previous to that, we used to hold love feasts with the so-called Baltimore faction, which has now disappeared from view, during which the discussions became so hot on several occasions that chairs and tables had to be mounted to keep up with our rising tempers, while fists and words like 'lump,' 'hallunk,' etc., flew about so recklessly that it would make one dizzy dodging them. Yes; we have had all the harmonizing business we want. We have struck the right gait at present and are satisfied."

The New York "Sun" publishes under the heading: "A Happy Man," the following letter that tells its own tale:

"I am a young married man, age 33, and am the father of six children. Have been employed in my present place for the past thirteen years without one step of advancement, either financially or clerically. This, at times, causes me to be somewhat downhearted at my lot in life, and I revive only in the realization of a loving wife and my brood of affectionate children. It is true my employment permits me to procure them food and clothes, not of the best, but substantial, and to keep a shelter over their heads. But what of the future? My love for them causes me to look forward with apprehension at the inevitable end.

"When I ask my employers to raise my wages they only shake their heads and reply: 'You must try to live more economically.' Don't I try in every way to save a penny? I forego all pleasure, neither do I gamble or drink. I certainly cannot do more.

"Now, I am not a strong believer in socialistic ideas, nor do I believe in putting an end to life because of the unevenness of things in this world; yet I cannot bring myself to condemn those that find this the easiest road out of it.

"It is my earnest endeavor to rise intellectually. I am a great reader and a worshipper of books. I long to own a small library. Now and then I find it possible to pick up a very good book at a cheap price, and I stint myself and family the small amount to add another to my limited collection. Is this wrong? I find leisure, too, at times, to jot down a few passing fancies, and a few times I have had the pleasure of seeing my name in print. This is my ambition in life, but the returns financially are so slow it does not warrant my throwing up my present position, no matter how unsatisfactory it is to me; yet it hinders me from work of which I feel I would be capable otherwise.

"What is your advice? Nine-tenths of the successful writers, who have reached both fame and fortune ,always advise one so discouragingly that I cannot look for help to them, further than taking their own successful lives as criterions."

Surely the heading also tells a very full tale of the capitalist conception of the "happiness" it considers is due to the workers.

Excellently put is the following answer by the London, England, "Justice" to the cry of "Peace," "Sweetness," "Kindness" that comes so frequently from weak and often criminally capitalist quarters:

"Don't hate the men who render life on earth a hell to all who come under their power. Don't hate those who deliberately doom young girls and young men, too to perish of hideous diseases in order that they may derive additional profit from their long-drawn agony. Don't hate the hypocrites who seek votes in order to become members of Parliament as 'friends of the people,' and yet daily are sending sailors to their death in coffin ships, and providing the survivors with rotten food. Don't hate the statesmen of both factions, Tory and Liberal alike, who, rather than offend their wealthy supporters who have become rich by such means, refuse to bring in Bills which shall render these murderers amenable even to the mildest personal punishment. Don't hate the noble journalists who expose the crimes, and denounce them, and then vigorously champion the placing of the party criminals themselves in the House of Commons in order that they may legislate in their own favor. Oh, no, don't hate such people. That's un-Christian and wrong! After all, they are only 'creatures of their surroundings.' You should try to 'moralize' them, and bring them to a better mind. Don't hate them, love them rather; above all, don't kill them or wish to kill them, for then you lower yourself to their level. Creatures of their surroundings! Well, yes, we suppose these murdering dogs are creatures of their surroundings. But, then, so are poisonous snakes, crocodiles, centipedes, and other loathsome vermin, which we destroy out of hand, regardless of the conditions which have rendered them harmful to man. Why shouldn't we treat the lead poisoners of the potteries, the 'phossy-jaw' miscreants, the men who murder their female counter-slaves for want of proper medical attendance, and other human vermin after their kind in like fashion as soon as we can get the chance? For our part, we say frankly we don't know. Certain it is that we would not lift a hand at any time to save them from the vengeance of the class whose defenceless members they have tortured and done to death with impunity."

The Dublin, Ireland, "Workers Republic," already announced in these columns to appear soon, has materialized in good shape. We regret that the first and only number so far received at this office is its No. 2. Its first issue no doubt contained its programme in some sort of salutatory. Readers of THE PEOPLE will now have to content themselves with the following passage taken from the new publication to gather its general tone:

"The statement made by one of our contributors in last week's issue that the action of the '98 Executive in fixing the date for the Wolfe Tone Demonstration on the 15th August, a generally recognized Catholic festival, would be fraught with evil consequences, has already been justified.

"The return of the Belfast contingent from Dublin to the former city was made the occasion of a sectarian outburst in the streets, in the course of which Protestant and Catholic belabored each other in the most beautiful manner, in a truly Christian spirit. "'And proved their doctrine orthodox, "By Apostolic blows and knocks.'

"He who could hit the hardest felt himself master of the soundest theology, and he whose blows did not flatten out his opponents' skull, was, no doubt, afflicted by conscientious scruples as to his own orthodoxy.

"And when Catholic and Protestant workmen absented themselves from work next morning in order to procure the needed sticking-plaster for their craniums, Catholic and Protestant employers stopped their wages accordingly with the most beautiful impartiality.

"Commend me to an employer of labor for strict impartiality in his dealings between workmen of different creeds. If the Catholic employer can make more profit out of a Protestant workman than out of a Catholic, he does not allow religious scruples to bind him. Oh, No!

"He straightway discharges his co-religionist and engages the man who yields him the greatest plunder. And the Protestant employer is equally fair-minded (sic) in his dealings with the Protestant worker."

This is sound and highly tactful. If there be any "first thing" needed with the Irish proletariat, it is to free it from the mental shackles that there is any difference between the Protestant and the Catholic capitalist vampire.

REPORT

Of New York State Secretary Hugo Vogt to New York State Convention, S. L. P., Aug. 27, 1898.

To the Delegates of the State Convention of the S. L. P. of New York.

Comrades:—The returns of the last election furnish an outward evidence of the advantage the Socialist Labor Party has derived from the unswerving consistency of its uncompromising attitude. For the first time our party appears as the third party in the State, having outlived or outstripped all other so-called reform parties.

The Henry George party, which in 1887 cast 70,000 votes, died after the election of 1888.

The People's Party, which arose in 1892 and came to within 1,500 of our vote, dwindled away from year to year; and, after casting but 6,900 votes in 1895, was lost in the Bryan movement of 1896.

The Prohibition Party, which in 1887 polled 48,000 votes and in 1892 had still more than double the Socialist poll, fell behind us in 1896, when it was reduced to 16,000 votes and to yield to our party its place on the official ballot.

Last year our emblem, the Arm and Hammer, appeared over the fourth column on the ballot. But since the Gold-Democrats had endorsed the regular Democratic candidate, the identity of that faction was lost and ours became really the third party, as is emphasized by the election returns which give us the third place.

The elimination of all pretendedly independent parties as factors in the political arena of the State has an importance not to be underestimated.

The very fact that the Socialist Labor Party has alone been able to maintain its ground and make steady progress, while all others succumbed to the pressure of capitalist politics, must greatly increase our prestige. It will spread among the working people confidence in the future of our party. And that confidence is an essential element both in our work of organization and in our propaganda.

The discontent which the capitalist system is sowing, is also destroying the faith of the people in the parties that uphold the system. How much it has loosened the attachment of the masses to the old parties, is demonstrated by the election returns of our State. Last year 320,000 voters abandoned the Republican party which they had voted for in 1896. In 1896 the Democratic party lost 100,000 of those who had been its supporters in the previous national campaign.

Some of the voters alienated from the old parties during the last six years have experimented with so-called reform movements This number included those workingmen, who, while discontented, are still frightened at the idea of a clean-cut class struggle in which the working class must alone face the forces of capitalism. Their dependent situation and the training that present society gives them make the workers so diffident as to the strength of their own class that they seek anxiously for allies among the seemingly anti-capitalistic elements of the middle class, and attach themselves to reform movements with platforms broad enough for people of all classes to stand on.

It was necessary for these workers to learn that such broadness does not mean added strength, but fatal weakness, because it opens the door to capitalist influences, turns the movement into a feeder of the very enemy who is to be fought, and soon destroys it. It was necessary for them to realize that the elements who must be catered to by such broad platforms cannot be relied on to engage seriously in the contest against capitalism which this part of the working class has by its condition been driven to recognize as indispensible.

And this lesson has been conveyed to the workers of this State by the experience of the last six years, an experience which contrasts against the futility of those broad reform movements the uninterrupted advance of the self-reliant, revolutionary class struggle. It has not only been shown that in entering to middle class elements there is NO success, but that in the uncompromising class struggle there IS progress.

Thus the Socialist Labor Party has, by its persistent and consistent energy, reached a point where the discontent that goes to the extent of rebelling against the old parties will no longer be side-tracked through the superstition that uncompromising tactics are not practical.

There is, undoubtedly, a large number of workingmen, who, though discontented under the rule of the old parties, still remain their camp-followers. They are kept in line by the numerous army of heelers who are serving as drovers of voting cattle for the capitalist parties because of rewards either received or expected.

The most dangerous among these heelers are those who serve capitalism by abusing the positions of trust which they occupy in the organized labor movement. Thanks to the work of these fakirs the bitter experiences made by the workingmen in their economic conflicts with capital long remained valueless. Nay, they were made the means of facilitating the catching of voting cattle by making the labor fakir a more efficient vote-catcher for capitalism.

Time was when the labor fakir had a free field with the Anglican prescription: "No politics in trade unions," he conjured away all interference.

But the idyllic age of fakirism is passed. As true brethren, the Socialists have stepped in between the workers and their betrayers. They have made it their business to also look after the workers' present struggles; they have begun to see to it that these struggles shall not be made the occasions still for further victimizing and exploiting the worker. The Socialists have undertaken this brotherly duty through the establishment of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

During the past year the Alliance has proven an inestimable supplement to the party movement. It has enabled our speakers to address trade union meetings where they would have found closed doors, had they come as representatives of an ordinary political party. Our agitators have reported how much our position with our fellow-workers is improved by the fact that the party is linked with an economic organization. This fact brings out clearly the difference between ours and other parties, and it deprives the fakirs of one of their most mischievous methods of attack, namely the claim that ours is, like the Democratic and Republican parties, a party of politicians. It is important to remove from the workers' minds, and we have taken the most effective method of doing so by supplementing our political organization with the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, thus placing our movement before the workers as the representative of all their interests and all their ameliatory aspirations, both future and present.

During March of this year the State Committee had occasion to test the value of the Alliance for our party work. It was furnished by the strike of the glovemakers of Gloversville and Johnstown. Comrade Vanderporten was sent to the scene of the struggle with instruction to enlighten AND ASSIST the strikers. How the test resulted, may best be told in the language of the organizer of one of the Fulton County Sections, who reported as follows:

"The strikers were about to give up the fight. His (Vanderporten's) addresses and rapid organization of local alliances speedily inspired the men with new courage. He took charge of the strike in the name of the Socialist Labor Party and of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

"What a change came over these men, what a change came over the workers in the other branches of industry when they saw that a political party was organizing the men and trying to help them in their battle. They came flocking to the banner of that party; they came to join their hands to those of the strikers. To-day with the exception of one branch of the industry, the entire leather-workers of Gloversville are in the S. T. & L. A., and an American Branch was organized.

"We held six meetings, and each meeting was packed closer than the preceding one.

"The fever spread to Johnstown. Two local alliances were there organized, immediately thereafter an American Branch of Section Johnstown."

The agitation that has been carried on under the direction of the State Committee need not be spoken of in detail; as far as it presented features of interest, the comrades have been made acquainted therewith through the party press. During the last twelve months the Committee organized a number of agitation tours, so that each Section has had a speaker several times. Comrade Hanford went through the whole State last September; so did Comrade Hickey in January of this year and he is again making a complete round trip. Comrade Forker addressed German meetings in the larger cities last October. In February and March of this year Comrades Hickey and Vanderporten visited a part of the State. Shorter trips were made by Comrades Carless, Allman, Furman and Knights.

In this connection an action of the State Committee should be mentioned that was taken last February in order to call public attention to the indirect disfranchisement which the Legislature was then about to perpetrate upon the working class by the passage of the new primary bill. Mention of the disfranchising effect of the bill was carefully avoided in the public discussion of the same. Neither Democratic nor Republican newspapers criticized it, neither Democratic nor Republican politicians referred to it. Both parties were united in their desire to abolish the secrecy of the primary elections and subject the workers to the coercive power of their exploiters. Although the bill was so amended as to leave our party for the present unaffected, the State Committee considered it the duty of the party to raise a voice of warning and protest against the consummation of the scheme. Comrade DeLeon was delegated to appear at a public hearing before the Joint Judiciary Committees of the Legislature and oppose the bill. The argument made by Comrade DeLeon will prove an effective campaign document after this year's registration has begun, because the question, that will be put to every citizen applying for registration as to his choice of party affiliation, will arouse the workers' suspicion and make them inquisitive as to the aims of this legislation.

The report that we have to make as to the internal condition of the party is a very satisfactory one. Financially the party organization of this State has never been as prosperous. During the past year the State Committee was able to expend $873.49 for agitation, and the total income available for our State work (that is after paying the dues to the National Executive Committee) amounted to $1,235.30—more than five times as much as it was four years ago. The total receipts (including dues) were $2,235.60 and the expenses $2,066.05, no part of which was paid out for salaries of the officers. A more definite and detailed statement of the finances will be published after the regular auditing through Section New York on the expiration of the term of the present State Committee.

HUGO VOGT,
N. Y. State Secretary, S. L. P.

PROSPERITY.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by J. E., Brooklyn, N. Y.

He was a man. His air
Was that of one in despair
Troubled, to none he talked.
But to the river slowly walked.
Regards it with inquiring eye,
Then hurls himself in—to die!
They find his body, stark dead,
"Out of Work," 'tis quietly said.

She was a woman. On her face,
Motherhood had left its noble trace.
She clasps a child with mad emotion,
While both drinks a deadly potion.
Soon, the little one's life is o'er—
The mother falls—dead—to the floor.
Neighbors come and shake the head,
"Starvation," 'tis quietly said.

There is a lie! Shameless hilarity
Utters it. 'Tis called "Prosperity!"
What if grim panics come and go,
What if suicides in numbers grow—
Liars shout in mock-glad refrain,
That bounteous word, so free of pain—
That scorner of degrading charity—
"Prosperity!" "Prosperity!"

UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—What is all this commotion about capital and labor? In olden days you did not hear of such a thing as a strike.

Uncle Sam—There was good reason for it.

B. J.—When a man wanted a job he applied for it. If the pay suited him he accepted it; if not, he would reject it and get another job.

U. S.—That's it. If one thing did not suit him he could drop it and was sure to find something that did suit him.

B. J.—If a man became dissatisfied and left one job for another, he did not care who took the place he vacated.

U. S.—Of course not.

B. J.—Now, I say it should be so now. If a man is dissatisfied with his job let him get another and don't mind who takes his. There should be no hard feelings on the part of either. What say you?

U. S.—I say that you are an improved edition of Rip Van Winkle. You have been sound asleep.

B. J.—Asleep? I have been wide awake.

U. S.—Not if you talk that way.

B. J.—Do you think all this wrangling is right?

U. S.—It is not a question of right or wrong, it is a question of whether it can be otherwise.

B. J.—And why couldn't it?

U. S.—Do you imagine that in olden days the man who dropped one job for another job did so for the fun of the thing?

B. J.—No; he did so to improve his condition.

U. S.—And do you imagine that he did not first try to get better wages at the job he had in hand?

B. J.—Of course not; he first tried that; but, failing, went to a better job.

U. S.—And do you imagine that, if no better jobs were to be found and he gave up the one he had, he would look pleasantly upon the fellow who took his place?

B. J.—Hem—er—

U. S.—Do you imagine that it is simply a case of the devil having now got into our people and that, while formerly they were good natured all around, now they are ill natured out of pure cussedness?

B. J.—Well—er—

U. S.—I said you were an improved edition of Rip Van Winkle. I am now ready to prove it to you.

B. J. (rubs his eyes)—Me seems I have been sleeping.

U. S.—If a man can get a better job than the one he is fired out of he won't care a straw who takes his old place or whether anybody takes it or not.

B. J.—Guess so.

U. S.—But if a man can't get a better job?

B. J.—Of course, he—

U. S.—Then he will strike for higher wages on the job he has. Ain't it?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And if the boss refuses, what is that man's predicament?

B. J.—He is in a fix, because the wages he could get at another job are no better.

U. S.—And might be worse?

B. J.—Yes; that would only make his fix still worse.

U. S.—In that case what is that man's only hope?

B. J.—Don't know.

U. S.—Yes, you do. His only hope, short of overthrowing the system, is to compel the boss to raise his wages.

B. J.—Oh, yes.

U. S.—Do you imagine he could succeed in that if the boss could find somebody else to work for the wages that he finds too low?

B. J.—Of course not.

U. S.—It, then, all comes down to this: In olden times there were fewer men asking for work than there were jobs; the bosses had to yield to the workers; since then things have changed; machinery, improved machinery, still more improved machinery, large concentrations of capital in syndicates and trusts—all that has lowered the relative number of hands wanted and has increased the absolute number of hands anxious for work—

B. J.—That's just the way it has gone on.

U. S.—Consequently, when now a man drops his job because of poor pay it makes all the difference in the world to him whether anybody else will step into his place—

B. J.—If any one does, he is left without bread.

U. S.—It is, consequently, quite a natural result of the changed conditions in America that there should be "hard feelings" all around—

B. J.—It now strikes me that these fellows who want "America as she is" and who in the same breath want "the America of our daddies" are—

U. S.—Either rascals or fools.

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—"The America of our daddies" is gone; what we now have is, as far as popular misery is concerned, "the America, or, rather, the Europe our daddies fought against." He who tells the workers they should behave as they did a hundred years ago and don't first try to bring conditions back to the plane they were a hundred years ago in point of facilities to earn a living is purely and simply a bunco steerer. Get out of such company.

B. J.—(takes out his handkerchief and dusts off his shoes —Here they are. I wipe them off.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

[By A. M. SIMONS, Chicago.]

One of the points for which the Socialist is perhaps more often denounced than any other is his continuous maintenance of the position that social advances are secured through the struggles of classes with opposite interests. It is one of the fundamental doctrines of Socialism that at any time all social institutions are determined by a ruling class. This class is always the economic master and through that mastery is able to determine the social laws, rules and customs. There comes a time when these institutions conflict with social progress. The ruling class is then overthrown by some other and another set of laws and customs are enacted. In this course of development lies the explanation of phenomena such as that observed by Bagehot in his "Physics and Politics" where he notices that in every society when a certain set of institutions and customs have been long established they tend to form a "cake of custom," opposing all progress, that can only be broken through a revolution that establishes another set of institutions, to gain form a "cake of custom" and so on indefinitely.

It has thus come about that most of our so-called history has been only the story of the actions and beliefs of the ruling classes. Furthermore, as those who wrote the history were in their turn members of a ruling class, and more or less subject to class prejudice, history has been largely but the record of a past ruling class seen through the eyes of a present one.

Even to-day the tendency to consider the dominant class as all there is of society is seen in the form of many popular expressions. When we say that "everyone has gone to the country," or everyone does this or wears that, it will generally be found that, as a matter of fact, only a small portion of society, but those the privileged portions are meant. It is they who determine all social customs and set the fashions in dress, manners and morals. It is this fact that accounts for apparent changes of base in ethics so that the things that were considered right in one age become wholly wrong in another. Very much of what we call morality is simply the customs of the ruling class. This is especially evident in the attitude of society toward slavery, polygamy, and the rights of property. It has been an absolutely uniform rule in all history that whenever slaves were no longer "profitable," slavery became "immoral." This was without any regard whatever as to whether the resulting condition of the laborer was worse or better. Chattel slavery became wrong when wage slavery became proutable. Incidentally an excellent illustration is offered in this connection of the way in which historians report the customs of the ruling class as those of the "people." Almost every historian states that polygamy and slavery were at some time the practice of certain "nations." As a matter of fact both of these institutions are only possible among a very small percent of the population of each nation, and those the economic masters. The fraction of people in our Southern States who ever held slaves was extremely small, and in the Oriental nations that are to-day known as polygamous, only the very small class who are the economic, and consequently the social, rulers are able to practice polygamy.

This view of social development is repugnant to many persons, especially when applied to our present society. This is more particularly true if they are members of the ruling class; or still more so if mere hangers-on of that class. They do not realize that this very repugnance is an excellent illustration of the principle under discussion, and a splendid example of class-consciousness. Such persons are apt to prate much of the "brotherhood" of man, and to accuse Socialists of "setting up a class war." The latter expression is a characteristic one of this party and is more significant than at first appears. It is a natural expression of the philosophy of their class which is continually speaking as if "society could be made over" to suit individual schemes. They are accustomed to see the manners and customs that they affect impressed upon society, and so become imbued with the idea that any change they may think advisable can be "enacted." They forget that the deeper social changes that mark social advances are made through the overthrow of one social class and the substitution of another. Hence they are blind to the fact that nothing but the "stern logic of events" can "set one class against another," and that all the Socialist is doing is to call attention to existing facts, and their bearing upon laws of social development. It seems to me that in this fact we have the great explanation of class-consciousness and the difficulty of either class ever understanding the other. The rulers, accustomed to dictate social institutions, cannot understand a philosophy having as its fundamental principle that such dictation is impossible. The subject class, never having known what it was to see their ideas take form in social institutions, is appealed to at once by a philosophy demanding the overthrow of the class responsible for an objectionable institution. It is in this reciprocal attitude that is to be found the insuperable obstacle to any form of class reconciliation, even if such reconciliation were desirable.

When we look at our present society it is seen to be divided into two hostile classes with opposing interests. Some of the more obvious proofs of this condition will be discussed later but at present it will be taken for granted that what is perfectly evident to any observer actually exists. It might be remarked in passing, that when the "grain of wheat is sifted from the bushel of chaff" in the claim of those who say that "capital and labor are brothers," that they are the "right and left hands of industry," or in a less poetic way that the interests of the employer and employee are identical, we shall find that what is really true is only that capital and labor are necessary to each other. Waiving at present the fact that capital is an "historical category" implying a certain relation of ownership residing in individuals with reference to the instruments of production and distribution, and that at bottom it is these instruments that are essential and not capital at all, let us analyze these expressions a little further. In this light it is seen that it is LABOR and THESE INSTRUMENTS that co-operate in production and not the laborer and capitalist at all. A still further examination shows that even between these the points where harmony exists are those which are not in dispute at all. "Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth." From the simple fact that tools are necessary to the worker is drawn the wonderful deduction that the interests of a class who claim a legal control over those tools are identical with the interests of a class whose life demands access to such tools and are prevented by that control.

This blindness and confusion, in so far as it is not directly traceable to dishonesty of statement, is another illustration of the point we are discussing—divergent class interests, and hence consciousness. When the capitalist speaks of the harmony of labor and capital he is thinking of their interests in production. Considering his class as all of society (as he has been taught by everything around him to consider it) he argues that increased production is for the good of "society." This increased production requires the co-operation of capital and labor and the more harmonious their action the greater the production—ergo, their interests are identical. But the great social question from the point of view of the laborer is the one of the distribution of the product, and on this point (the only one at issue) their interests are diametrically opposite.

Let us now examine these classes and see if anything can be found in their history that will aid us in determining their future function. We find that the present capitalist class rose to power through a class war as did every ruling class. At the close of the last century the landed aristocracy were dominant. All social institutions were molded in their interests. They were considered, by themselves, as infinitely superior to the just arising mercantile class. Legislation was designed to protect agriculture against commerce, the country against the city. But the rapidly developing factory system was giving the mercantile class a new weapon. They began to be the economic masters of the time. Many of the landed aristocracy became indebted to them. Their influence was soon felt in legislation. They repealed the corn laws and inaugerated the era of laissez faire that they might be unfettered by legal restrictions.

As the moneyed aristocracy became stronger they looked about for some weapon with which to complete the overthrow of the landed class. Hitherto the weapon used by both sides in such struggles had been the proletariat. So it was natural that they should be used at this time. A new form of proletariat had grown up which made this apparently more than ordinarily easy. Hitherto they had been scattered among a great number of different classes of society each of which exploited them and used them to fight its battles. The capitalistic system had gathered them together in great bodies in the towns and cities and made much the larger part of them dependent on the owners of the means of production—the just arising capitalist class. They had been driven from the land and herded together in the great towns where their life depended upon their obtaining access to the machines that were revolutionizing society. The capitalists had, by virtue of class legislation, a certain legal relation to all machines and factories. By virtue of this legal relation called ownership they were able to dictate to all others the conditions under which they might use these instruments of production and distribution. That this is the essence of ownership is admitted even by the capitalist writers. This is shown by the definition of private property given by Holland in his work on Jurisprudence. He says, "It is a social relation consisting in the capacity residing in one man of controlling with the assistance of the state the actions of others with reference to the economic goods in question." The tremendous significance of this "capacity of controlling the actions of others" is seen when we realize that access to the "economic good" in question (the mines, factories, machines, etc.) is absolutely as essential to the existence of those not having such ownership.

The capitalist thus having the laborer completely in his power thought to use him, with his newly acquired solidarity, as a weapon with which to wipe out the last share of the landed aristocracy in the government. As a means to this end the laborer was given the franchise. That they were not mistaken in their tactics is shown by the fact that through the weapon thus obtained the capitalist class became the undisputed social master. The laborer has been continuously deceived, cajoled and intimidated into doing the bidding of his masters at the polls. Not until the present time has he shown any great disposition to revolt. But with the disappearance of the landed, political aristocracy as a competitor for the position of ruling class, a new class entered the arena to battle for the mastery. This was the proletariat, the despised class, that had hitherto been looked upon only as the tool of whatever warring classes might be struggling for the mastery.

The appearance of this class in this function is the most significant fact about nineteenth century society. It means that if once this class gains the victory, the evolution of society through economic class war is over as there can no longer be an exploited class to support a ruling one.

The history of the origin of this class and their rise to their present position is therefore of momentuous importance. At first they were gathered in unorganized mobs under the control of a master in the great factories. This master had often originally been one of them, and the possibility of their sometime occupying his position was the strongest bond that kept them contented in their condition. While capitalists and laborers were so closely united the entire issue was confused. Personal relations added to a confused economic situation to make class divisions vague. The capitalist was thought to have as one of his functions the organization of industry. It was claimed that the great reward he received was owing to his superior intellect and skill in managing industry. The step from laborer to capitalist was not an insuperable one and was filled with intermediate economic grades.

Gradually the classes became separated and things began to appear in their true light. The concentration of industry eliminated the middle classes and small capitalists and added enormously to the wealth of the remaining capitalists. The step from employee to employer became an almost impassable one. Socially the separation was wider still. The capitalist class had now a full set of institutions and customs that the laborer had no part in save to unwillingly maintain. They had their own social circles, their own modes of dress, their own trading centers, and more significant than anything else in outward appearance, their own residential localities. The capitalist resided in the suburb, his employees sweltered in the slum.

The separation in industry was still clearer. The capitalist no longer kept up the farce of posing as a manager of his industry, but handed over the actual oversight to the proletariat arranged in carefully graded ranks of foremen, overseers and bosses. It then became clearly evident that the only essential capitalistic function was that of ownership of the instruments of production and distribution through which they are enabled to extort from the workers all they produce save what is necessary to keep up the stock of laborers. The capitalist had become an absolute parasite on the productive forces of society. It is an immutable law of Nature, as inevitable in the realm of society as in that of biology, that a disused organ must disappear. The functionless character of the capitalist class is the certain sign of their doom.

The question arises as to what class shall succeed them. On this point there is no room for argument. The only vital class in society is the laboring class, the despised proletariat, the helpless tool and dupe for all the historical classes, at last risen to a position of power in itself.

The whole history of this class has been one of preparation for the task before it. That task is to take control of the means of production and distribution and operate them for the good of all, and through the power thus gained to remodel the institutions and customs of society as every other ruling class has done, according to their class interests, with this far reaching difference, that all society being members of this one producing class, those institutions will be those required by all.

Let us look for a moment at the preparation of the proletariat for this weighty function. We have seen how they have been organized industrially until they have become the only essential portion of our economic life. Their separation and economic and social isolation has given them that solidarity and class interest, sympathy and consciousness that always comes to a separate class. Public education, political organization, economic struggles have all had a part in their preparation. Finally the ballot has given them the means of obtaining that mastery. Unlike other earlier classes struggling for victory, they have no subject class to use as a weapon but must fight their own battles. They must be united in a party that recognizes their historical class function and interests and that perceives that the time has arrived in history for the downfall of the last ruling class and the abolition of class rule forever through the abolition of class exploitation.

If after this has been done further development is to take place through class struggles, the divisions must be along other than economic lines. The struggle must take place upon some higher plane as of intellect or morals.

To many people such as those to whom I referred earlier in this paper, this position is hard to see. They definitely oppose all class action and seek to unite these far separated classes. Such a movement is distinctly reactionary. The formation of the classes with their clearly marked lines of division is the most essential thing in the whole course of the social evolution. It is the culmination of the movement in which the perfection of the machine to render the productive powers of society great enough to provide for all, and the concentration of industry to simplify and unify the processes of production were the earlier steps. In the same way the present movement against class divisions is exactly analogous to the anti-machine and anti-trust movements of earlier times. As a matter of fact these earlier movements were carried on by the same class and often by the same persons as are now crying for class reconciliation. All are clearly middle class movements seeking to preserve present conditions. They are a class-conscious recognition of the fact that upon the maintenance of the status quo depends the existence of those who are advocating this alleged brotherhood. In their endeavor to convert the proletariat to their point of view we see further the attempt to again use the worker to fight the battles of his masters.

Happily such a movement is as hopeless as its predecessors. The proletariat of the world is beginning everywhere to recognize its function and is gathering in mighty class-conscious armies to demand its right to occupy the field of history and upon the downfall of the last of the ruling classes to erect a society dependent on co-operation not exploitation, and on brotherhood rather than class war.

Authorized Agents for THE PEOPLE.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

To THE PEOPLE:—In a recent issue, THE PEOPLE had a poem by Ella Wheeler Wilcox. The poem was a demand upon the Goddess of Liberty in New York harbor to answer certain pertinent questions. The Goddess whispered her answer to me; I send it enclosed. In order to make the answer clearer to those who may not have read the question, I place the question ahead of the answer. Here they are:

GODDESS OF LIBERTY, ANSWER!

Goddess of Liberty, listen!
Listen, I say, and look
To the sounds and sights of sorrow
This side of Sandy Hook!
Your eye is searching the distance,
You are holding your torch too high
To see the slaves who are fettered,
Though close at your feet they lie.
And the cry of the suffering stranger
Has reached your ear and your breast,
But you do not heed the wail
That comes from the haunts of your own oppressed.

Goddess of Liberty, follow,
Follow me where I lead;
Come down into the sweat-shop
And look on the work of greed!
Look on the faces of children,
Old before they were born!
Look on the haggard women,
Of all sex-graces shorn!
Look on the men—God help us!
If this is what it means
To be men in the land of Freedom
And live like mere machines!

Goddess of Liberty, answer!
How can the slaves of Spain
Find freedom under your banner,
While your own still wear the chain?
Loud is the screech of your eagle
And boastful the voice of your drums,
But they do not silence the wail of despair,
That rises out of your slums.
What will you do with your conquests,
And how shall your hosts be fed,
While your streets are filled with desperate throngs,
Crying for work or bread?

THE ANSWER OF THE GODDESS.

Inquiring mortal, hearken!
Forget not what you hear,
Let prejudice not darken
Your mind with doubting fear.
Blame not my searching eyesight,
Nor censure e'en my hand,
That holdeth up the torchlight
To men from every land.

Full well I see the suff'ring
And hear their woeful cry,
Look down upon their offspring
And see them waste and die.
YOU wrought this foul condition,
'Tis YOU who can amend.
Away with false contrition,
Arise, this anguish end.

Go thou among the lowly
And cheer their drooping hearts,
Tell them that sure, but slowly,
Emancipation starts
Within each aching bosom,
Then spreads with wondrous pace,
Until the thought of freedom
Enlivens every face.

Look, see, across the ocean
Your brethren far and wide
Are spreading consternation
Or joy on every side.
They want not your sham freedom,
They seek a higher plane;
To end fierce mammon's kingdom
And make men men again.

Jersey City, Aug. 20. FRED'K KRAFFT.

An Air-Value Tax!

To THE PEOPLE:—The following suggestion is offered so that some enterprising competitionist may advocate the novel theory and thereby aid his "Singletax" brother to "even up" such affairs and therewith assist in bringing forth the glories of the millennium on the wings of the archangel of Taxation.

Now, in levying the land-value tax, it is proposed to make the rates the highest in the cities, where land brings the highest prices. And the next highest is to be laid on the rural or farm lands; while the lowest tax is to be placed on the more sterile soils of the far-away hills and mountain sides. But our Sir-Valuetax, is intended to be levied in an exactly reverse order, and thus even up taxes nicely, as follows: the very highest rate is to be placed on the pure, fresh air of the hills and mountains. The next highest tax, of that kind, is to be laid on the next best or pure air, which is found in the country or farming regions generally. While the lowest of such tax is to be levied on the impure and unwholesome air sections—being in the large towns and cities. Does not that adjustment of taxation look fair? If not, why not?

As regards "malaria districts," they might be allowed reduced rates under this air-value tax, as is proposed for certain swampy localities under a land-value tax.

Foolish as an air-value tax may at first seem, it is not a whit more so than is a land-value tax. Both elements, the land and the air, are the bounties of nature and a necessity to mankind, consequently should be absolutely free to everyone for necessary use and occupancy. And it is a crime to allow any person to claim the exclusive use of an extra portion of either for the payment of a tax, rent or license, as the people must in the end return such tax or rent payer every cent thus paid through the purchases of the productions of said land, air and the labor of the required wage-workers, with an additional cost, known as "profit."

Verily, verily, competition even when skilfully disguised under that most natural-featured mask, taxation, will, when thoroughly removed, reveal a hideous representative of hypocricy greed and inhumanity.

B. F. F.

Pottstown, Pa., August 28, 1898.

"Distribution" under Socialism.

To THE PEOPLE:—In the phamphlet entitled "The Co-operative Commonwealth," page 29, we find the following: "To distribute the products (the products of the public ownership of the instruments of production in conjunction with labor) at stated intervals would be equivalent to the gradual re-introduction of private property in the means of production." I must confess, for two reasons, I am unable to perceive, even if "private property in the means of production" did occur, how this private ownership could compete with public ownership. 1) How could it compete with such a vast concern as the whole public? 2) How could it exist in the act of producing when profit would no longer exist, everything made for use by the public, instead, as now, for profit. STUDENT.

East St. Louis, August 26, 1898.

[You will find your question answered in the paragraph that immediately follows the passage you quote. It is:

"The very essence of Socialist production limits the possible distribution of the products to only a portion of these. All those products which are requisite to the enlargement of production can not, as a matter of course, be the subject of distribution; and the same holds good with regard to all such products that are intended for common use, i. e., to the establishment, preservation or enlargement of public institutions."

The moment such products are distributed collective production ceases.—Ed. THE PEOPLE.]

The "The Social Democracy" in Kansas a Kansas Populist Annex.

To THE PEOPLE:—There are many reasons to justify the belief that the Social Democracy here is nothing but a Populist annex. Among the things that make me think so is the declaration of the Secretary of State Bush (Pop.), who is an intimate of Clemmens—the $2,500 a year Pop Supreme Court reporter and Social Democratic leader in Kansas—when Clemmens spoke once in Pittsburg to form a "Socialist" organization. Bush then said to Lipscomb (when Lipscomb asked whether the Social Democracy would put up a State ticket this fall), that such would not be the case, and repeating it again more strongly; on Lipscomb's expressing surprise, Bush answered: "I know positively that they will not."

Join to that this other: A certain organizer of the S. D. keeps a joint (saloon) in this Prohibition State; that can not be done except with the connivance of Pop officials; they do not allow the law to be broken for nothing; and the something they need now like the devil is votes, votes, votes—the Reps having them on the run. This S. D. organizer has "influoence" among the miners; a center of his "influoence" is his saloon. It is clear that he gets his "license" by producing Pop votes. This can be done O. K. as an S. D. man, but not as S. L. P. Now this "organizer" is very much against the "excessive" demands of the S. L. P. and claims to be a Socialist, who wants one thing at a time, that thing is nominally the "referendum," and that, he says he can get through the S. D.

WATCHER.

Topeka, Kans., August 27.

Activity in Philadelphia.

To THE PEOPLE:—The campaign of the Philadelphia Socialists will begin Tuesday evening, September 6, on and after which date two and three open-air meetings will be held every night. Location of meetings will be announced a week in advance by notice in the "Tageblatt" and by bulletins posted in Labor Lyceum and United Trades Association, every week, until close of been generously responded to, particularly by those organizations whose members have discovered that they belong to the working class.

Experience is valuable. We found out, during the last campaign, that it was as easy to hold two meetings as to hold one, provided they were held not too far apart, so that the speakers could alternate. Transparencies, torches and platforms once secured (and provided for less than a single meeting might cost otherwise), we are able to reach two and three audiences a night with one complement of speakers. Let the unterrified everywhere take notice on the same. Nuf sed.

No, there ain't. I forget something. There is nothing so attractive and instructive to a street crowd as a well-lighted and well-painted transparency. Socialists everywhere should pay particular attention to this. Let the mottoes be brief and striking, and, above all, let the workmanship on it be first-class. A "home-made" transparency, nine times out of ten, breeds contempt. Let us hear, through THE PEOPLE, and right away, of a few good mottoes for banners and transparencies.

The transparency on our wagon may be described for the good of our brethren everywhere. It has two sides, hinged at the top (inverted V shape), and runs the length of the wagon. Both sides are alike as to matter. In the centre is a large Arm and Hammer, surrounded by a wreath of green oak leaves. Above, across the top, are the words "Socialist Labor Party." On the sides of the emblem is the State ticket. Beneath, across the bottom, are the words: "Capitalism is Not Only a Failure, But a Crime Against Mankind."

This transparency, really a work of art as to execution, is commented upon by everybody as the wagon travels the district in the neighborhood of the evening's meeting. When the meeting takes place the transparency (being hinged at top), is folded up, and serves as a most effective background for the speakers on the wagon.

Last year, some time before election, we told you that you would hear something drop in Pennsylvania. In the language of Joe Gargery, "the occurrence took place." A tripled vote dropped into Keystone ballot boxes. This year, with an increased number of speakers and workers, more watchers at the polls, and a confidence born of the righteousness of our cause, we enter the conflict with a cheer for the Socialists of the Union. One hundred thousand votes will be as easy as rolling off a log. The sun shines for Socialism.

THE ORGANIZER.

Philadelphia, August 29.

Activity in Chicago.

To THE PEOPLE:—Open-air meetings are being held in the various parts of the city and usually with the most gratifying success. Audiences ranging from 100 to 1,000 are addressed by the speakers of the S. L. P. at seven or eight different meetings, arranged by the Ward Branches of Section Chicago every Sunday. Meetings are also held every evening in some part of the city or other.

One source of especial satisfaction is the energy of our young speakers, who, almost without exception, have been developed as speakers within the last two years. The efforts of Comrade Collins, city organizer, and Comrade Berlyn, chairman of the Organization Committee, are ably seconded by Comrade Klenke, Damm, Wanhope, Becker, Kutlow, Morris, Mandel, Pepin, Sissman, and Saunders, who are kept busy addressing our meetings.

On the South Side meetings are held by the Fifth Ward Branch at 33rd and Wentworth; by the Fourth Ward at 37th and Wentworth avenue, and by the 39th Ward at 54th and Ashland avenue on Sunday afternoons.

The 31st Ward Branch held meetings at 63rd and Halstead streets, which were disbandedby the police in June. On the 20th of this month a meeting was held at same place with the intention of taking issue with the police, but the police lay low and we spoke to a crowd of 200 persons.

The First Ward Branch will hold a meeting on Wednesday evening at 24th and Cottage Grove, Thursday evening at 33rd and Wentworth, Friday evening at 24th and Cottage Grove again. Meetings are held in Washington square three times a week by the 24th Branch.

On the West Side the 7th Ward Branch holds meetings at 12th and Union avenue every Saturday evening. The 13th holds meetings at Madison and Ploria street and expect to organize a new Branch in that locality.

The 14th Ward Branch holds torchlight meetings on Saturdays at North and Rockwell streets, and to judge by the expressions of sympathy from the crowds that are addressed, we will poll a large vote in that neighborhood.

The 22nd Ward Branch will also hold open-air meetings every week.

All Branches that do not hold open-air meetings should do so as it is almost impossible to get a crowd into a hall in hot weather, and, last but not least, there is no rent to pay. Experience has shown that the meetings held at night in the workingmen's districts are by far the most successful, while those held on the hot Sunday afternoons are sometimes very slimly attended. Branches on the South Side should notify for speakers Wm. Figolale, 3257 Union avenue.

Peter Damm, 2522 Cottage Grove avenue was elected State Organizer.

The vote for State Committee resulted as follows: Charles Baustein, 120; J. R. Morris, 106; John Pepin, 103; Peter Damm, 76; Fred Kalbitz, 60; Peter Sissman, 54; Paul Ehman, 52; J. Simons, 48; S. O. Soon, 47; Ch. Schmit, 44; D. Jensen, 44; Thos. J. Morgan, 42; Paul Schubert, 41; Peter Horsten, 22; Ed. Bunck, 21. Accordingly, elected are Baustein, Pepin, Damm, Kalbitz, Sissman and Eheman, they having received the highest number of votes.

The State Committee has changed its meeting place from 79 Dearborn street to 48 West Randolph street.

JOHN THORSMARK.

Chicago, August 28.

A Seidenberg Spectre Apparision Conjured up.

[Upon request and the suggestion from several quarters, the below correspondence, that appeared in THE PEOPLE of last May, is here reproduced. It can not be read too often by the doubly-blood-sucked proletariat—blood-sucked by the capitalist exploiter and the labor fakir flea.—Ed. THE PEOPLE.]

The Seidenberg Spectre Stalking Onward With intensified Stalk—Poor Workers Cheated With False Promises.

To THE PEOPLE:—As two of the "Spanish Workers," who took part in the late Seidenberg cigarmakers' strike, we desire to give the public some information on what happened there.

Saturday, March 12, in the morning, as we, the men, were going to the shop to work, we met a Committee of the International Union, which told us "the shop is on strike." We insisted on going in to work; we said to the Committee when they call a meeting we would attend. Then this Committee, which had just told us there was a strike against Seidenberg, must have notified Seidenberg's manager, Mr. Pisco, to tell us there was to be a meeting to be held at 10 o'clock, because Mr. Pisco came and gave us this notice himself.

We attended the meeting. The presiding officer of the meeting was Mr. Bennett. After a long talking he said if anybody had any grievances to state them, and he would see that they would be redressed. We, the "Spanish Workers," then said we wanted $2 advance on each thousand cigars; he said to the secretary to put that down black upon white. He then asked, if there was any more grievances, to state them, which was done by the people on "Spanish Team Workers," the same price as we asked for, as they were getting less than we were. Also the people on the suction tables made their demands. Mr. Bennett said that if all demands were not satisfied there would be no man or woman to enter the shop until these demands were satisfied. The meeting was then adjourned until the following Monday.

During a week and a half that we were on strike there was not a word said about the Committee going to see the firm to state our grievances. On Monday, March 21, at the meeting it was said the Committee was at the office of Seidenberg. The meeting was then adjourned to the next day, we then would get the full report.

On the 22d it was reported at the meeting that the strike was at an end. They were going to do away with the Pioneer men on the Kelly floor. We, the "Spanish Workers," then asked if they made our demands. They said yes, but Mr. Pisco would sooner close the Spanish floor than give one cent more. We then asked for a caucus meeting which was granted for a few minutes. Every man was willing to stay out until some advance was made. A question arose, if our floor stayed out, would the International Union protect us? We then caller for Dan Harris, and the question was asked him. He said: "I am not yet through with that shop"; we then asked him if any man took our seats, would they be called scabs. He said: "No," if we did not go back he would be compelled to fill our places with men. There was then a majority vote to go back to work. We then went down to the regular meeting, and we found out that the sympathy of the people was with us. We then got up and said if we had known that we would not have voted to go back. Dan Harris said he was surprised that after voting up stairs to go back we should not now want to. After a little talk the strike was declared on. We were told to go back to work.

The next morning when we entered the shop the foreman asked the men if they knew how the strike was settled. We said: "Yes, we come back at the same prices." He then said his orders were to notify each man if they wanted to work they would have to join the union. There were half who would not return to work on these conditions.

It is clear that all we got from this strike was that we had to take three dollars out of our pockets to join the union.

We also wish to state, that after the Committee had settled we were told WE HAD NO RIGHT TO ASK FOR ANY ADVANCE UNTIL APRIL; we then said: "Why did you ask us for our grievances?" They said it was a mistake on Mr. Bennett's part. When we asked Bennett about this, he shrugged his shoulders. We also wish to say that no advance was gained by anybody.

JOE COHEN, 211 E. 101st st.
JACK BRITTAN, 168 E. 110th st.
New York, May 14, 1898.

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

S. S., BOSTON, MASS.—Your article very well covers both the present condition of the shoe trade and the fix of the fakirs who try to live on the shoeworkers. Tho' long, and seemingly on trade matters only, it will be in the next issue; it will serve as a political campaign document; the party cannot progress better than by grappling with the trade or daily class struggle. If you want any extra number of copies, order them from the business manager in time. Shall await developments in Stoneham. The world do move.

JOHN J. KINNEY, CLEVELAND, O.—The article you sent for publication to this office and that now appears in the "Citizen" of the 20th instant; the Letter-Box answer in THE PEOPLE of the 24th of last month, giving the reasons for rejecting the article; and your rejoinder thereto in the "Citizen" of the 20th make, together, a complete case upon which we stand with no need of further commentary.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—Correspondents are again requested to be particularly careful in the writing of names, their own included. Their attention is again called to the fact that names have a spelling of their own, and, if unclearly written, can not be read: they can not be inferred from the context, and errors become next to inevitable. Particularly should signatures be carefully and clearly spelled out. No end of trouble is caused at this end of the line by the neglecting to observe this self-evident rule.

C. L. D., BOSTON, MASS.—When THE PEOPLE reduced its price by one half, to 50 cents a year, it had a circulation of 6,883 copies and threw out a slight surplus. The new regime required a cash basis. All the mail-list subscribers in arrears—whether in arrears one week or one year—were dropped. The new regime went into operation with the first issue in April. The names in arrears being dropped, the actual total circulation of the paper (by mail and otherwise) dropped to 6,380; since then, the total circulation for the week ending Aug. 14 had risen to 9,128. The 10,000 mark will be speadily reached and passed. No slight sympton this!

A. W., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The picture you saw at the excursion represented the Goddess of Liberty.

M. H., WESTPORT, MO.—There are two things in your letter that utterly bewilders us. We cannot understand, in the first place, how, "being a member of the party," you hold that THE issue is the finance question. The party denies that flatly. It maintains and proves that "financial systems" are the reflex of the system of production and distribution; that if the former are to be changed, the latter must be changed first; and that, accordingly, THE issue is whether the land on and the tool (capital) with which to work shall remain private property or shall belong to the people collectively. That is the party's stand on that head.

Likewise bewildering are your arguments that virtually ignore, if they do not deny, the class struggle, on the rock-bed of which the party stands unflinching.

All of which is all the more surprising seeing you speak of yourself as "a Socialist of over 30 years"; and still more surprising in view of the fact that you do not even seem to be aware of where the party stands on these matters. Have you ever read the party's literature?

F. J., DENVER, COLO.—Let's have the matter; even if not published, it will be good for information.

B., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—The amendment of the Paterson Union No. 3 of the Cigarmakers' International Union, to abolish the out-of-work benefit, commented upon in our last issue, is, down to August 13, endorsed or seconded by 16 other unions, to wit: Unions 132, Brooklyn; 168, Oshkosh; 68, Albany; 220, New Orleans; 308, Muncie; 80, Daville; 8, Hoboken; 4, Cincinnati; 378, Rochester; 277, Oskaloosa; 134, La Porte; 365, Havana; 117, Orange; 346, San Antonio; 13, New York; and 130, Saginaw.—Altogether an extensive evidence of the extensive spread of the consciousness that the "union" can be "saved" only by ceasing to be a union, ceasing to even take care of the wounded in the capitalist field of battle, notwithstanding these have paid in their dues with the expectation of such assistance and notwithstanding their dues are increasingly used to pay increasing salaries of fakir officers, etc.

A. S. A., LINCOLN, NEB.—The Edward Bernstein we know is supposedly a member of the German Social Democracy but lives in England. The Literary Digest containing the passages you quote has escaped us. Could you send it on. We shall then verify the statement.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

SOCIALISM AND FREEDOM.

That a socialist commonwealth would afford its members comfort and security has been admitted even by the foes of Socialism; "but," say they, "these advantages are bought at too dear a price; they are paid for with a total loss of freedom; the bird in a cage may also have sufficient daily food; it also is secure against hunger, the inclemencies of the weather and enemies; but it has lost its freedom and for that reason it is a pitiful being, that peeps through gilded bars a world of dangers and want, and fain would struggle for its own existence." They maintain that Socialism destroys economic freedom and the freedom of labor; that it introduces a despotism in comparison to which the most unrestricted political absolution would be freedom, because this would control only one side of man, whereas Socialism would control all the phases of human activity.

So great is the fear of this slavery that even some Socialists are seized with it, and they become so-called "phylosophical" anarchists. These gentlemen have as great a horror for the Communism that there in Socialism as they have for the system of production for sale; and the odd measure they take to escape both is to demand both; they want to have Communism and production for sale together. Theoretically, this is absurd; in practice, the thing amounts to nothing else than the exploded co-operative establishments which addle-pated capitalist philanthropists and reformers, or correct schemers, have again and again advocated, again and again started, and again and again failed in.

The charge is correct that socialist production is irreconcilable with the full freedom of labor, that is to say, with the freedom of the laborer to work when, where and how he wills. But so is this freedom of the worker irreconcilable with all planful, co-operative work, whatever the form which it may assume, whether the form be capitalistic or socialistic. Freedom of labor is possible only in small production, and even there only up to a certain point. Even where the small producer is freed from all social restrictions, he still remains dependent upon natural and social influences: the farmer depends upon the weather, the small industrialist depends upon the markets. "Freedom of Labor" is the ideal, the most revolutionary ideal, which the class of the small producer, unable to look beyond the horizon of small production, is capable of. This ideal had its good reasons a hundred years ago; to-day it has no economic bottom to stand on, and can only haunt the heads of such people as are unable to perceive the industrial revolution that hast since then taken place. The downfall of the "Freedom of Labor" is necessarily connected with the downfall of small production. It is not the Socialists, but the resistless progress of large production, who destroy that. Oddly enough, the very ones on whose lips is found most frequently the declaration that "labor must be free" are the capitalists, i. e., those who have contributed mist to the overthrow of that freedom.

"Freedom of labor" has come to an end, not only in the mills, but in all other places where the individual worker is only a link in a long chain of workers; it does not exist either for the manual worker or for the "brain worker," employed in any industry; the hospital doctor, the school teacher, the railroad employee, the newspaper writer, and so on interminably—none of these enjoys "Freedom of Labor,"; they are all bound to certain rules; they must all be at their posts at a certain hour.

For all this, the workingman does enjoy freedom in one respect under the capitalist system. If the work does not suit him in one factory, he is free to seek work in another; he can change his employer; in a socialist commonweath, where all the means of production are in a single hand, there is but one employer; to change him were impossible.

In this respect the wage-worker has to-day ,what, superficially considered, may seem an advantage voer the workingman in a socialist commonwealth; but this advantage cannot be given the name of "Freedom of Labor." However frequently a workingman may change his place of work to-day, he will find in each place, substantially the same arrangements which hold the individual workers to certain rules and regulations, all of which are a technical necessity.

The freedom, with the loss of which the workingman is threatened in a socialist commonwealth, is, accordingly, not the "Freedom of Labor" but the freedom to change his master. Under the present system, this freedom, where it still exists, is of no slight importance; it is a protection to the workingman. But even this freedom is gradually destroyed by the progress of capitalism; the increasing number of the unemployed reduces ever more and more the number of jobs that are free, and throws upon the labor market more applicants than there are places. The idle workingmen is, as a rule, happy if he can at all secure work. And furthermore, the increased concentration of the means of production in a few hands has the steady tendency of placing over the workingman the identical employer or set of employers, whichever way he may turn. Inquiry therefore shows that what is decried as the wicked and tyrannical tendencies of Socialism are but the natural tendencies of the economic development which manifest themselves even in modern society.

It is not through Socialism, but through the economic development that freedom in the choice and opportunity of work is removed as much as freedom during work itself. Socialism does not mean to, neither could it, if it would check this development; but in this as in so many other respects Socialism can obviate the evils that accompany the development. It cannot remove the dependence of the workingmen upon the mechanism of production in which they are one of the wheels; but it substitutes for the super-added dependence of the workingmen upon a capitalist, with interests hostile to themselves, their dependence upon a society of which they are themselves members, a society of equal comrades, all of whom have the same interests.

It can be easily understood how and why dapper lawyers, authors and the like may consider such a dependence unbearable; but such a dependence is not unbearable to the modern proletarian, as a glance upon the trades union movement will show. The trade organizations of labor furnish a picture of the so-called "tyranny" of the socialist system of which the foes of Socialism have so much to say. In the organizations of labor the rules under which each member of any such organization has ever complained that these rules were an unbearable restriction upon his personal liberty. Those who have found it incumbent upon them to defend the "Freedom of Labor" against this shocking "terrorism," and who have done so, often with force of arms and with bloodshed, were, be it noted, never workingmen, but their exploiters. Poor "Freedom," what has it come to that it has to-day no defenders other than our modern slaveholders!

The lack of freedom in work does, however, not only lose its oppressive character, it also becomes the foundation of the highest freedom yet possible to mankind. This seems a contradiction, but the contradiction is only in appearance.

Down to the day when large production stepped up, the labor employed in the production of the necessities of life took up the full time of those engaged in it; it required the fullest exercises of both body and mind; this was true not only with the fisherman and the hunter, it was also true with regard to the farmer, the mechanic and the merchant. The existence of the human being engaged in production was consumed wholly by his occupation. It was labor that steeled his sinews and nerves, that quickened his brain and made it anxious to acquire knowledge. But the further the division and subdivision of labor was carried, the more one-sided did it make the producers. Mind and body ceased to exercise themselves in a variety of directions and to develop all their powers. Wholly taken up by the fractional labor of the moment, the producers lost their capacity to comprehend their whole surroundings. A harmonious, well-rounded development of physical and mental powers, a deep concern in the questions relating to nature and society, a philosophical bent of mind, i. e., the search after the highest truths for their own sakes—none of these could be found under such circumstances, except among those classes who remained free from the necessity of toil. Until the commencement of the era of machinery this was possible only by throwing upon others the burden of labor, by exploiting them. The most ideologic, the most philosophic race that history has yet recorded, the only society of thinkers and artists, devoted to science and art for their own sakes was the Athenian aristocracy, the slaveholding landlords of Athens.

Among them all labor, whether slave or free, was degrading; and justly so. It was no presumption on the part of Socrates when he said, "Traders and mechanics lack culture; they have no leisure, and without leisure no good education is possible. They only learn what their occupation requires of them—knowledge itself has no attraction for them. They take up arithmetic only for the sake of trade, not for the purpose of acquiring the knowledge of numbers. It is not given to them to see higher. The merchant and mechanic say: 'The pleasure derived from honor and from knowledge is of no value when compared with money making.' However able smiths, carpenters and shoemakers may be in their own trade, most of them are animated only with the souls of slaves; they know not the beautiful, the good or the just."

The economic development has progressed greatly since those days; the division and sub-division of labor has reached a point undreamt of then; and the increment taken by the system of production for sale has driven both the former exploiters and cultured people into the class of producers. Not unlike the mechanics and the farmers, the rich also, are wholly taken up with their business. They do not now assemble in gymnasiums and academies, but in stock exchanges and markets; the speculations in which they are absorbed do not concern the questions of truth and justice, but the prices of wool, whiskey trust stock, corporation bonds and dividends on coupons. These are hte speculative thoughts that consume their mental activities. After these "labors" they have neither strength nor taste for any but the most grovelling amusements.

On the other hand, as far as the cultured classes are concerned, their education has become a merchandise. They too, have neither time nor stimulus to indulge in disinterested researches after truth, or to strive after an ideal. Each one buries himself in his specialty, and considers every minute lost that is spend in learning something that cannot be reduced to dollars and cents. Hence the movement, that is becoming quite general, and in which the New York Sun has taken conspicious lead, to abolish public colleges, or to remove the study of Greek and Latin from existing ones. Whatever the pedagogic grounds may be upon which this movement seeks to place itself, the real reason for it is the vulgar and vulgarizing desire to have the youth taught only such things as are "useful," i. e., such things as can be converted into money.

Even among scientific men and artists, the instinct after a harmonious development in all directions is perceptibly losing ground. On all sides specialists are springing up. Science and art are degraded to the level of a trade. What Socrates once said of the mechanics, now holds good of these. Philosophy is on the decline—that is to say, within the classes that are here considered.

In the meantime a new sort of labor has sprung up—MACHINE LABOR; and a new class—the PROLETARIAT.

The machine robs labor of all intellectual activity. The workingman at a machine needs no longer to think; all he has to do is silently to obey the machine. The machine dictates to him what he has to do; he has become an appendage to it. What is said of the machine holds good also, although to a slighter extent, of handicraft: the division and subdivision of labor in the production of a single article, that was once brought forth by a single man, among innumerable workingmen, establishes the same conditions and paves the way for the introduction of machinery.

The first result of the monotony and absence of intellectual activity in the work of the proletarian is to dull his mind.

The second result is that he is driven to revolt against excessive hours of work. To him labor is not identical with life; life commences only when his labor is at an end. To those workingmen, to whom labor and life were identical, freedom of labor meant freedom of life. The workingman, however, who can be said to live, i. e., enjoy life, only when he does not work, can enjoy freedom of life only by being free from labor. As a matter of course, the efforts of this class of workers can not be directed towards freeing themselves from all work. Labor is the condition precedent for life. But their efforts will necessarily be directed towards reducing their hours of work far enough to leave them time to live.

This is one of the principal sources of the struggle which would have had no meaning to the mechanics and the farmer of former social systems. The struggle of the proletariat for shorter hours is not aimed at economic advantages, small or large, such as arise in wages or the reduction of the number of the unemployed; the struggle for shorter hours is a STRUGGLE FOR LIFE.

A third result is that machine labor is deprived of mental activity. The intellectual powers of the proletariat are not exhausted by their labor as are the intellectual powers of those workers who are not lashed to the machine; with the proletarian the intellectual powers lie fallow or are suspended during work. For this reason the craving of the proletarian to exercise his mind outside of his hours of work is strong. One of the most remarkable phenomena in modern society is the thirst for knowledge displayed by the proletariat. While all other classes kill their leisure time with the most unintellectual pastimes, the proletarian displays a passion for intellectual culture. Only he who has had opportunity to move among the proletariat can have any adequate conception of the ambition of its members to learn and enlighten themselves. But even he who stands far away may have some inkling thereof if he compares the papers, magazines, books and pamphlets that circulate among the workingmen with those that are current in highed circles.

But above all, this thirst for knowledge is entirely unselfish with the workingman. The worker at a machine will not be able to raise his income through the knowledge he may acquire. In seeking truth he does so for its own sake, not for the sake of material profit. Accordingly, he does not limit himself to any one domain of knowledge; he tries to embrace the whole; he seeks to understand the whole fo society and the whole world. The hardest problems attract him most; carried on by this instinct he often loses himself in the clouds.

It is not the possession of knowledge, but the desire to acquire it that constitutes the philosopher. It is among the despised and ignorant class of the modern proletariat that the philosophical spirit of the most brilliant members of the Athenian aristocracy is revived. But the free development of this spirit is not possible in modern society. The proletariat is without means to instruct itself; it is deprived of opportunities for systematic study; it is exposed to all the dangers and inconveniences of planless self-instruction; above all it lacks sufficient leisure. Science and art remain to the proletariat a promised land, which it looks upon from a distance, which it struggles to possess, but which it cannot yet enter.

Only the triumph of Socialism can render accessible to the proletariat all the sources of culture; only the triumph of Socialism can make possible the reduction of the necessary hours of work to such a point that the workingman can enjoy leisure enough to acquire all the knowledge that he desires. The capitalist system of production awakens the desire for knowledge in the breast of the proletariat; only the socialist system of production can satisfy it.

It is not the "Freedom of Labor" but the freedom from labor, such as machinery will make possible in a socialist commonwealth, that will bestow upon mankind freedom of life, freedom to engage in science and art, freedom to delight in the noblest pursuits.

That happy, harmonious culture, which has only once appeared in the history of mankind, and was then the privelege of a small body of select aristocrats, will become the common property of all civilized nations. What slaves were to the ancient Athenians, machinery will be to civilized man in a socialist society. Man will then feel and respond to all the elevating influences that flow from freedom from excessive toil for their own sustenance, without being at the same time poisoned by the evil effects which chattel slavery exercised upon the Athenian aristocrats, and finally unnerved them. And the same as the modern aids to science and art are far superior to those of thousands of years ago; and the same as the modern domain of civilization exceeds prodigiously the small territory of ancietn Greece, so will socialist society, the Co-operative Commonwealth, i. e., the most brilliant community, that history has yet brought forth, excel all others in moral greatness and material well-being.

Happy he whose lot it is to contribute his efforts in the struggle for this beautiful ideal!

The New York "Journal," that raised its price upon its newsboys the moment it reached a high circulation, has received from the recent "New Jersey State Federation of Labor Unions" an endorsement by acclamation. The resolution stated:

"The J'ournal' is the only true champion of labor in New York."

How much did the "Journal" pay for this lie from the prostituted mouths of the delegates who uttered it?

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

GRAND LABOR DAY CELEBRATION.

PICNIC AND SUMMERNIGHT'S FESTIVAL

— OF THE —

Central Labor Federation of Hudson County,

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, KROEBEL'S BOULEVARD PARK,

Boulevard, opposite Angelique Str., West Hoboken, N. J.

MUSIC, DANCING, SPORTS. Prize Shooting for Cents. Prize Bowling for Ladies and Gents. Games for Children.

TICKETS, 15 CENTS, CHILDREN FREE. COMMENCING AT 2 P. M.

The Park can be reached from all cars in two minutes.

Strict Union Arrangements. Music by the Peoples Orchestra.

856 THE COMMITTEE.

THE DAILY PEOPLE

$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to Aug. 17th, 1898.

$4,575.

☞ **Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.**

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandlow, 193 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.—National Executive Committee—Secretary George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session of August 30th with Comrade Kinneally in the chair. The financial report for the week ending August 27 showed receipts in the amount of $99.80; expenditures, $47.47. A committee of the Arbeiterzeitung Publishing Association appeared and requested endorsement of an appeal for funds to be issued by them to ward off capitalist persecution by means of a succession of libel suits brought against their publication. The request was granted. The matter of the Polish party paper was then taken up. Communications were read from Savitzka, Fiszler and Section Buffalo in regard to it and the following resolutions were then presented and upon motion adopted:

"RESOLVED, That this N. E. C. vetoes the nomination of Comrade W. Fiszler as editor of the Polish party paper, as we consider the comrade unfit for such a position on the ground that he does not stand where the party stands with regard to members who have betrayed the party's confidence as Carey and Gordon, or have sought to stab the party in the back as Barr; and he does not represent the party's attitude in the important matter of trades-unionism.

"Upon this latter point we consider, that the editor of a party paper in the Polish language should be especially sound and clear-headed, seeing that the Polish proletariat in this country is among the most victimized element of our working class, victimized not by the capitalist class only, but also by the so-called unions, or "pure and simple" organizations of their craft that are run by English speaking labor fakirs who apologize even for their slaughter by sheriffs and posses."

"The question of ownership of the Polish party organ having been raised by the Polish Executive Committee, the secretary was instructed to inform them that the paper was the property of the Alliance of Polish Sections and Branches in the same manner as the property of a Section is Section property, is ultimately party property inasmuch as it cannot be converted to any but party purposes.

Comrade Rudolf Katz, now on the road in the interest of the Bombemian party organ "Pravda," asked for credentials, which were granted.

A charter was granted to a new Section at Galena, Kansas.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secretary.

18th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

The Socialist Labor Party of the 18. Assembly Dist. has mailed a copy of this issue of The People to the citizens of the district.

Meets every Thursday at 246 1st Ave. If this paper converts you come and join.

Socialistischer Frauen-Verein,
Branch II, N. Y.
(Socialist Women's Ass'n, Br. 2, N.Y.)
A Grand Concert & Ball
WILL BE GIVEN ON
Saturday, October 1st,
IN THE
Bohemian National Hall,
321 E. 73rd St., N. Y. City.

The proceeds will be divided between the Election Fund of Greater New York, S. L. P., and The People Fund.

MRS. JOHANNA GREIE will deliver the Festival Speech.

All Assembly Districts and sympathizin Organizations and Societies are requested not to arrange any Festivities on the day mentioned. 354

THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

General Office, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance: 23 Duane St., Room 99, New York City. Gen. Secretary: WILLIAM L. BROWER. Fin. Secr'y-Treasurer: PATRICK MURPHY. General Executive Board Meetings: 1st, 3rd and 5th Thursday Evening at 8 P. M. 353

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Office for Consultation (Tuesday to Friday, 11 to 3) 50 Union Square, (offices of Workingmen's Co-operative Insurance Ass'n, etc.) New York.

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87 Frankfort Street 87
Cor. Pearl St.,
Fra kl Square E. R. R. Station
Orders will be taken at 116 E. 8th street, betw Avenue A and First Ave., New York City. 143

How to Organize Sections.

All persons dissatisfied with prese. political and economic conditions, and who believe that the land, water works, gas works, telephone, and telegraph lines, the commercial highways on land and sea, with all their appurtenances and equipments; all the mills, mines, factories, machinery, means of production and agencies of distribution, created by the efforts of the laboring class through all the centuries of the past, ought of right to be nationalized, and operated for the benefit of collective humanity, and who are convinced that the disinherited producing class can and must transform the capitalistic methods of production and distribution into a social and co-operative system, are hereby invited to identify themselves with the Socialist Labor Party, which alone goes to the root of our social and economic evils.

1. Any ten persons may organize themselves into a section, provided they accept the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., and sever their connection, absolutely, with all other political parties.

2. OFFICERS TO ELECT.

1.—Organizer.
2.—Recording and corresponding secretary.
3.—Financial Secretary.
4.—Treasurer.
5.—Literary Agent.
6.—Chairman, each meeting.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1.—Reading of minutes.
2.—New members.
3.—Correspondence.
4.—Financial Report.
5.—Report of Organizer
6.—Report of Committees.
7.—Unfinished Business.
8.—New Business.

4. There shall be no initiation fee charged. Amount of monthly dues is fixed by each section. A monthly remittance of ten cents per member shall be made to the National Executive Committee.

5. A full report of the first meeting, including a list of membres, with inclosure of 10 cents per capita, is necessary to obtain a charter.

6. Per capita checks are furnished by the National Executive Committee at 10 cents each; such checks are pasted in monthly column on the membership card, and charged to members at such excess rate as will cover the amount of dues fixed by the section.

7. Each section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month, and semi-monthly meetings for public discussion or lectures on political or economic questions.

8. Quarterly reports of the numerical strength and financial standing of members, party progress and prospects, shall be promptly sent to the National Executive Committee.

9. Any person residing in a city or town where no section of the party exists may make direct application to the National Secretary, inclosing one month's dues, and will thus be enrolled as members at large.

For pamphlets, leaflets, platforms and other information, address the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn,
184 William street, New York City.

S. L. P. Supplies.

Constitutions in English, German and Polish (with platform)....	50c. per 100
Constitution in Jewish (without platform)	40c. per 100
Due Cards	40c. per 100
Application Cards	40c. per 100
Emblem Buttons (stud or pin) per dozen	25c.
Metal emblem pins (gilt) per doz.	30c.

When ordering supplies, enclose the cash: it takes time to keep credit accounts, send out bills (perhaps a number of times before collection is made), and all this time, postage and effort may be employed to a better purpose.

The emblem buttons and the pins are not sent out on credit under any circumstances. They are sold by the N. Y. State Committee, which committee keeps no credit accounts of any kind.

Address all orders to: HENRY KUHN,
184 William street, New York, N. Y.

THE SCAND. SOC. DEM. CLUB
OE BOSTON
will arrange its
SIXTH GRAND PICNIC AND SINGING FESTIVAL
IN 358
ARMORY GROVE, ROXBURY, on LABOR BAY,
MONDAY, SEPT. 5, 1898.
Speech by Mr. JAMES S. HANCOCK of New Bedford,
Sports and games with prizes for ladies and gentlemen. Singing by Swedish, Norwegian and Danish Chorus. Dancing from 2 to 9 P. M.
Lunch and beverages will be provided.
LADIES TICKETS, 35 CTS.; GENTS, 50 CTS.

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Telephone Call: 1173 Spring. 357
Branch: 327 E. 86th St.

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the Executive Committee is:

Reinhard Lachner, 13 Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, N. Y. City, N. Y.

Office hours: Monday and Friday, 1—5 o'clock P. M.—Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday, 8—12 A. M and 1—5.30 P. M. 349

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meeting.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union. Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei. 93

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 93

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 331 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 10 Stanton street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III meets at the Clubhouse, 206 East 86th street, every Saturday at 7.30 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at Vathauer's Hall, 1231 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
273 Secretary: PETER STAPLE.

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 335 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall. Telephone Call: 1751 Spring street. 93

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1099, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 10 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th St. J. S. Krings, Business agent. 351

Metal Spinners Union of New York and Vicinity meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8½ o'clock at
231-233 E. 33d Street. 355

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 78 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 189

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10.30 o'clock a.m., at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 138—140 3. Ave., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBETAREN.

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Progressive Clothing Cutters & Trimmers Union, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A.—Headquarters, 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum.—Regular meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 P. M. 352

The Socialist Educational Society of Yorkville meets every Monday evening at 206 E. 86th St. This society aims to educate its members to a thorough knowledge of socialism by means of discussions and debates. Come and join. 350

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